

2. Kwq'nō'

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The kwq'nō' differs radically from the hapin relationship in lacking its manifold ceremonial and onerous obligations, for which it substitutes the boon companionship of young age mates.

The tie is formed exclusively by voluntary agreement during the final pepyé of an age class, specifically on the same occasion used for cementing the hapin relationship. The candidates step into the brook, grasp each other standing abreast, jointly dive, and swim as far as possible below the surface of the water without relinquishing their grip. The two girl associates also become kwq'nō' to a fair number of age mates at this juncture.

The term of address, irrespective of the sex of the person spoken to, is iykwq'nō' (iy = the first person pronoun singular). Very often the term assumes the form iynōre (= re, the diminutive suffix).

The tie is reckoned indissoluble, at least in theory lasting until one partner's death; practically it is of importance only in youth, for persons over forty years or thereabout no longer use the above terms of address nor have I been able to note anything relevant to this bond at that time of life.

Kwq'nō' are expected to be particularly good comrades, constantly accompanying and aiding each other—formerly, above all on war expeditions. In their speech and jesting they are unrestrained by the other's presence, and each may publicly reprove and make fun of the other as soon as he offers an opening. This is not resented as an insult, but considered a friendly service; no one takes umbrage at a kwq'nō's mockery.

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The handsomest proof of true kwq'nō' friendship consists in the occasional exchange of wives, but the women's consent is prerequisite. When all concerned are agreed, the matter is arranged quite unobtrusively, such friends being in any case in the habit of paying each other visits. If during such a visit the husband should be alone with his wife, he may say, "iynōre, I am going out for a while, you may remain here." The recipient of such courtesy is subsequently obliged to repay the favor in the same fashion. Such exchanges are invariably temporary and in no way affect the permanence of the marital tie. Though no blame attaches to the participants, the arrangement is made as inconspicuously as possible, so that its frequency cannot be definitely determined. It is probably rather rare, for it implies reciprocity and the refusal of one of the wives suffices to frustrate the project.

The institution certainly has nothing to do with either "promiscuity" or prostitution in our sense. The wives concerned do not receive the slightest gift, nor is wife exchange the main object of the kwq'nō' tie, for in former times the pepyé entering this relationship were still unmarried, as they still are with but a few exceptions.

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I have never seen or heard of any homosexual aspect of this type of friendship. Characteristically our Canella have turned the usage into wife exchange rather than into homosexual excesses.

KINSHIP TERMS

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(Note. The prefixes id- and i- are first person singular possessives; the suffix -re is diminutive; -ti, augmentative; i-, feminine; -tum denotes old age, -ndúwu, youth; -ye remains problematical, but occurs with nouns denoting social groups. There are no distinctive vocative forms.)

839 Perversions seem to be extremely rare. I know nothing of masturbation or homosexuality. I heard of one youth, somewhat abnormal in other respects, who had cohabited with a calf. The old people declared nothing of the sort had ever happened before. The solitary known case of incest is that described on page 114.

838 A certain Nyōkw'ndn, about twenty-five years old (1936), is a marked invert in tendency. He has a high falsetto voice and a more feminine carriage than many a girl. In sitting down he often assumes a woman's posture and displays a striking predilection for feminine domestic tasks. In a photograph of fourteen young men he is the only one to cover his genitalia with a bunch of leaves. He has never had sexual relations with a girl, but I expressly ascertained that he has never been known to indulge in homosexual practices. The omnipotent ceremonial pattern obliges him to join his age mates in all their performances, which he does unresistingly. To his tribesmen he remains an enigma; tradition does not report any comparable instance in the past. But since he does not play truant in any activity, people do not mock him and permit him to live according to his strange inclinations.

WEDDINGS

585 Formerly the majority of youths married their fiancées in a joint ceremony immediately consequent on the close of the last phase of the initiation festival. The last collective wedding of this sort seems to have occurred in 1913, for none followed the close of initiation in 1923 and 1933. This was probably due to the fact that many of the young warriors were already married. The old people in conversation with me repeatedly regretted the decadence of this usage, and since I encouraged them to insist on its maintenance they arranged with the leaders of the latest initiates, the pōhītkama class, to make up for the omitted solemnity. Soon the pōhītkama, whom I had joined as a sort of honorary member, came to me gleefully declaring that after all it would be better to adhere to ancient custom. I eagerly agreed, but when I scrutinized the program it turned out that I was booked to wed the thirteen-year-old Kōrédn! This, then, explained the girl's recent solicitude on behalf of my horses; her uncle Pūtō's remarkably comradely attitude; her elder sister Rārepri's invitation to enter the house whenever I passed by. On meeting Pūtō the next time I explained that I was not able to get married in these circumstances. He said nothing in reply for the time being, but went to his maternal home and summoned a family council that included himself, his brother, his two sisters, one of whom was Kōrédn's mother, and another old woman. Then he sent Kōrédn herself to invite me to come. Obviously everything had been settled, for he was the only one to speak, saying that Kōrédn had told him she wanted to marry me; that my impending departure was no obstacle; for some day I would return since I was one of them and not of the "Christians"; that then I should find my wife in precisely the condition in which I had left her, as he and his sister would take care would be the case. I expressed regret over the unfavorable conditions, but persisted in my refusal, explaining the inconvenient consequences of grass widowhood for the girl (p. 126 f.). All present remained silent, and I went home.

[623] In the evening and on the following day the matter seemed to be discussed further by the council in the plaza. Then once more there was a family assembly in Kōrédn's home, I being again summoned, with the same result as before. All around me their faces showed displeasure, and Kōrédn was in tears. A few hours later a dozen pōhītkama came to me, accompanied by their commandant, a kw'ndn of mine, who told me categorically that in view of my refusal they had dropped the project of a collective wedding. I vainly tried to convince them that my per-